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ABSTRACT

In October 1972, the Ditchley Foundation supported a conference which sought to assess population conditions and policies in the economically advanced countries of North America and Western Europe, including Britain, together with their international responsibilities and how best they can discharge them. Findings and recommendations summarized in the report indicate there was agreement on a population policy for the developed countries leading toward stabilization. The group agreed that the current declining population growth rates in the Atlantic Community are desirable and that all measures to promote these trends should be encouraged. These trends, if continued, could result in a zero growth rate around the year 2000. The conference provided an overview of how intermeshed population problems are; how many legal, technical, ethical, and personal questions are involved; and how urgent is their need for solution. The role of the United Nations in World Population Year 1974 is also considered. Appended items give tables of population projections by country and region and a list of conference participants. (BL)

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Population Problems and Policies in Economically Advanced Countries

REPORT OF A CONFERENCE
AT DITCHLEY PARK, ENGLAND
SEPTEMBER 29—OCTOBER 2, 1972

Published by
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in association with
THE DITCHLEY FOUNDATION

Photograph: Gustav Vigeland
The Family
The Vigeland Sculpture Park
Oslo, Norway

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PREFACE

In September 1972 United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim designated 1974 World Population Year and called for a World Population Conference to be convened in August 1974. This will be the first international governmental conference ever held on population matters.

In announcing the United Nations initiative, the Secretary-General said: "It is impossible to think of solutions to the major problems confronting the world — economic development, pollution of the environment, improvement in the quality of life, even disarmament — without some reference to population trends. It is my hope that the World Population Year and Conference will rank in the history of the United Nations among the great events of the seventies."

I share Mr. Waldheim's hope and believe that these events will be of vast importance. Indeed, they must, for the entire world is in danger, perhaps the greatest danger the human race has ever faced. The lack of general understanding and the lack of concerted action to deal with population problems threaten our entire civilization.

Shortly after Mr. Waldheim's announcement, a small and informal international group met in October 1972 to discuss one phase of the world population problem. The Ditchley Foundation in Oxfordshire, England, called a conference on the Population Problems and Policies in Economically Advanced Countries. Attending were individuals from Britain, Continental Europe and the United States.

The fact that a group of concerned experts from government, medicine, economics, demography and science and citizens from the countries involved met together to explore, in their personal capacities, their own national population problems and came up with basic agreement is in itself significant.

The findings and recommendations they reached are also significant. Most fundamental of all, there was agreement on a population policy for the developed countries leading toward stabilization. The group agreed that the current declining population growth rates in the Atlantic Community are desirable and that all measures to promote these trends should be encouraged. These trends, if continued, could result in a zero growth rate around the year 2000. One European country appears to have already surpassed that goal: in 1972, deaths exceeded births in West Germany.

Mr. Milos Macura of Yugoslavia, until recently Director of the United Nations Population Division and one of the participants at the Ditchley conference, has written that the conference "made a significant contribution to the understanding of what a population policy

for a developed society might be." He feels that the report to the conference will be welcomed by the United Nations because it is the first time that such a gathering has "pronounced a realistic and balanced statement."

Not only did the conference make an important contribution to the formulation of policies for the developed countries but the discussions are also revelant to the population problems of the developing countries. In exposing to the fullest the population problems their own countries face, the participants seemed to say: Profit by our mistakes, avoid our errors, let us cooperate to make a better world.

The conference gave an overview of how intermeshed are population problems — how many legal, technical, ethical and personal questions are involved — and how urgent is the need for solution if the human race is to survive in peace, prosperity and dignity.

The Population Crisis Committee believes that the report of the conference will be welcomed by the United Nations and that it should have the widest circulation possible. It is for that reason that we have had the report printed and are sending it to our friends around the world.

Finally, on behalf of the Population Crisis Committee, I express my appreciation to those who made this publication possible: Sir Michael Stewart, Director of the Ditchley Foundation, who called and brilliantly managed the conference itself; Mr. C. F. O. Clarke, who prepared the conference Report; Mr. Lawrence A. Mayer of *Fortune* Magazine, who revised the Report with the help of a group of readers, including Messrs. Lincoln Gordon, Ronald G. Ridker, Thomas W. Wilson, Jr., and Lawrence R. Kegan, our Executive Director and staff; and the Rockefeller Foundation for funding the publication and distribution of this report throughout the world.

WILLIAM H. DRAPER, JR.
Honorary Chairman
Population Crisis Committee

INTRODUCTION

It is a little over three years since the first conference on population growth was held at Ditchley. The accent then was on the situation in the lesser developed countries and the impact on it of advances in agricultural techniques and medical science. It was thought appropriate at the time that population should provide the theme for a subsequent conference and the seed then sown has now borne fruit.

On this occasion the focus has been on assessing conditions and policies in the economically advanced countries, but without neglecting their international responsibilities and how best they can discharge them. In other words, the global context has been kept very much in mind — all the more opportunely in that we are approaching World Population Year 1974 and the next World Population Conference, for which preparations are going ahead under the auspices of the United Nations.

Population problems cannot be considered in isolation: they touch on almost every side of the human contingency — economic growth, material resources, the natural and man-made environment, social policies and individual ways of living. Two basic questions emerge:— First, whether it is enough that the birth rate has declined in the developed countries over the last decade or whether policy should deliberately aim at accelerating the fall; and secondly, how in democratic countries policies can be made effective without an intolerable degree of constraint on individual freedom and individual desires and expectations.

The delicate weighing of advantages and disadvantages which these questions impose was the very stuff of the conference, and we are grateful to all those who came to Ditchley for the purposeful way in which they applied their special knowledge and experience to seeking answers to them, as far as the difficulty of future prediction allows. It was inevitably an exercise dealing in probabilities and possibilities rather than in certainties: all the more remarkable therefore that differences in outlook and opinion turned out to be matters of degree in comparison with the substantial agreement which inspired the principal recommendations.

A word of special thanks is due to the chairman, Sir Colville Deverell, for the authority and incisiveness with which he presided over the discussions. We are also indebted to the rapporteur, Mr. C. F. O. Clarke, for assembling the main arguments with admirable clarity in the permanent record of the conference.

MICHAEL STEWART
Director
The Ditchley Foundation

TERMS OF REFERENCE

The Ditchley Conference met to consider, in the context of the economically advanced countries of North America and Western Europe, including Britain:

Whether, and if so when and at what figure, it is realistic to expect their populations to stabilize at replacement levels or begin to decline under existing conditions;

Given these population expectations, whether the conservation of resources and the preservation of an acceptable standard of human life call for changes in policy, and if so, how urgently and of what sort, in respect of

the size of their populations,

the growth of their economies,

patterns of living and social behavior,

and the natural environment;

The coordination of any major changes in policy internationally among themselves and with the less advanced countries.

REPORT

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The subject of population policy touches nearly every aspect of life and society. It is not only a question of quantity; it is a question of the very quality of life and of the total human environment. It involves issues of where people live, how freely they are allowed to move from place to place and from country to country and the effect they have on the environment and resources. Ultimately it is a question of human well-being, of enhancing the potential for improving the social conditions wherein the values of individuals, families and nations can be realized.

The policy statement is confined to population problems and policies in economically advanced countries. As such, it may appear to cover only a small segment of a set of worldwide problems created by the prospective doubling of world population in just over 30 years, with an average of 100 million more people every year. However, in view of the inter-relationship between peoples and the needs which, for all their differences, they share, no people can stand in isolation from others or from the whole. The policies and problems of developed countries have many implications for the developing countries, and therefore the present statement is important to all nations.

The United Nations designation of 1974 as World Population Year and the calling of the World Population Conference for August, 1974 are greatly to be welcomed as a spur to the activities of all nations. These United Nations initiatives should contribute to vital research on population matters and increase communication and cooperation between nations on matters involving population. It is to be hoped that World Population Year and the Conference will result in significant increases in aid and assistance to the developing nations to help them meet their own urgent population problems.

The main findings of the Ditchley Conference, which represent the substantial consensus of the participants, are:

I — In most economically advanced countries the rate of population increase has slowed in recent years. The predominant factor has been a drop in the birth rates.

II — Some developed nations have even achieved or are approaching a "replacement level" birth rate, which, if continued, will result in eventual stabilization of the absolute size of the population.

III — The current slowing of population growth in developed nations has many more advantages than disadvantages. Governments and individuals should welcome and encourage present trends.

IV — Whatever the optimum size of population, there is reason to believe that in many countries the actual population may well exceed the optimum under present conditions. There are two principal reasons: the number of unwanted children: and the failure of parents to weigh fully the social costs of having children.

V — Measures that affect the rate of population growth should support and reinforce other social goals. Examples include greater access to family planning services and increased employment opportunities for women. Such measures are useful on other grounds as well and should be implemented immediately.

VI — Migration is an exceedingly complicated problem. Much of it is international and the interests of the countries involved may not be identical.

VII — Despite certain undesirable environmental and social consequences, economic growth and industrialization help solve more problems than they create. It would be unwise to discourage economic growth in either the developed or the developing countries.

VIII — The problems associated with urbanization are here to stay for years to come, regardless of changes in population growth, although a slower population growth will make those problems more manageable.

IX — Environmental problems will be more manageable if population growth slows.

X — All families should have the right to plan the number and spacing of their children, regardless of population trends. To insure this right, family planning information and services, including contraception, sterilization and abortion should be made available to all.

XI — There are a number of policies that governments may enact which go beyond family planning, but which would

contribute to the welfare of the family and the overall health of society.

XII — Developed countries have a responsibility to lend all assistance possible to the developing countries. To avoid any impression, however ill-founded, of neocolonialist motives, the developed nations must deal with their own population problems, should expand their concern for the broad range of development issues, and within this broad context, should increasingly utilize multilateral channels for population aid.

XIII — The United Nations proclamation of 1974 as World Population Year and call for World Population Conference for August of 1974 offer the potential of greatly expanding worldwide concerns about population and supporting programs to meet them.

XIV — Although much remains to be done in both developed and developing countries, there are definite signs for hope. The world might well reach a turning point in the struggle to limit the population of our Earth and provide a decent life for all of the inhabitants with a heightened respect for the sanctity of each individual.

POPULATION TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPED NATIONS

In most economically advanced countries the rate of population increase has slowed in recent years. The predominant factor has been a drop in the birth rates.

In the United Kingdom, from 1965 onwards the birth rate has been consistently falling, with a 1972 population of 56 million, currently projected to 66 million by the year 2000. In continental Europe there has been a similar decline since 1966, implying a population increase of between 0.3 and 0.6 per cent a year.

This decline in the birth rate has been observed in developed nations throughout their regional, social and religious makeup. For instance, in Italy the birth rate in the comparatively poor southern region once was three times that in the north, but the gap is now

narrowing. Similarly in the Netherlands and Switzerland, the greater fertility of Roman Catholics compared with that of Protestants is now far less than before. This may be influenced by the changing attitude of the Roman Catholic Church in those countries toward contraception and family size.

In the United States the trends are similar to those in Europe. The total fertility rate rose to a peak of 3.77 children per family in 1957, but has fallen to 2.0 children in 1972. If this figure is maintained, zero population growth can be expected in about seventy years. The population would increase by the year 2000 from the present figure of 209 million to 264 million instead of the 300 million projected not many years ago.

The reasons for this fall in fertility are not fully understood. Recent behavior, however, is consistent with the overall downward trend in fertility in the developed countries for the past 150 to 200 years. And it is clear that the young people of today desire smaller families than before.

II. THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Some developed nations have even achieved or are approaching a "replacement level" birth rate, which, if continued, will result in eventual stablization of the absolute size of the populat m.

It seems unlikely that Britain and the United States, for example, will see a return to very large families. Better contraceptive methods (such as the birth control pill, the intrauterine device and sterilization) and the liberalization of laws against abortion will do much to further limit births. This holds especially true in the case of unwanted pregnancies. It has been estimated that one quarter of the pregnancies in England and Wales are unwanted; of these some 100,000 were aborted. The greater use of contraception is presumably reinforced by concern about pollution, the environment, economic growth and the emphasis to be placed on the individual in family life.

While the foregoing factors tend to promote a low level of fertility, it is not completely certain that fertility will stay low. If affluence in developed countries continues to mount in coming decades and

the drop in fertility is significant enough to cause a marked reduction in population, families might one day choose and even be encouraged to have more children. But such a drop does not seem a very reasonable prospect.

Furthermore, if there are large-scale wars in the future, this might have unpredictable effect on world birth rates. In the developed nations population growth declined after World War I, but it rose dramatically after World War II.

Most developed countries have so many young people in their population that even if the two-child family became the norm, total population would continue to increase. And when the children of today grow old enough to have children of their own, an average of two children per family may still permit total population to grow. In the United States, which has an especially large proportion of young people due to the post World War II "baby boom," the two-child family would have to prevail for about 70 years before population growth would cease. Much the same is true in other developed countries.

It is therefore likely that the populations of most developed countries will continue to increase in the future, but at a considerably slower rate. However, after the year 2000, these countries may well achieve stabilization of the absolute size of their populations.

III. POPULATION POLICIES AND FERTILITY

The current slowing of population growth in developed nations has many more advantages than disadvantages. Governments and individuals should welcome and encourage present trends.

The problems that nations face now and in the future will be easier to solve as population stabilizes. Those nations that do not approach stabilization will be constantly trying to deal with the consequences and pressures of continued growth.

The size and density of population and rate of increase can have significant consequences, for example, on urban congestion, reserves of certain scarce resources, the burden on agriculture to produce more food, and the quality of the human environment generally.

But there are other reasons for governments to adopt population policies that will tend to slow or stabilize population growth. These reasons include increasing the freedom and ability of parents to control the size of their families. In particular, if parents have only the number of children they want, when they want them, the well-being of both parents and children and the general health of the family would be improved.

Communities and nations as a whole would benefit as well, partly because smaller families would increase social and economic opportunities for women and members of disadvantaged minorities. In short, improved control of fertility would raise the quality of life for everyone.

IV. THE OPTIMUM SIZE OF A POPULATION

Whatever the optimum size of population, there is reason to believe that in many countries the actual population may well exceed the optimum under present conditions. There are two principal reasons: the number of unwanted children; and the failure of parents to weigh fully the social costs of having children.

A discussion of population policies naturally leads to questions about what the optimum size of a country's population is and what an optimum rate of population growth should be. But it is difficult to define the optimum size for any nation. It may not even be the best policy to encourage a rate of growth geared too closely to the optimum size of a population — although they seem to be related — because a rapid change in the rate of growth can lead to unnecessary strains on a nation's economic and social structure.

The bearing of unwanted children is probably due to insufficient spread of information about family planning, the presence of economic, social and other factors that promote childbearing and the underestimation by parents of the *personal* costs of having and raising children.

Further, parents fail to take into account the *social* costs in the form of schools, health care, and the general social infra-structure needed to help the parents to raise children.

their society in general, as against all the benefits that having chi'dren bring.

V. SOME GENERAL PROBLEMS OF POPULATION POLICY

Measures that affect the rate of population growth should support and reinforce other social goals. Examples include greater access to family planning services and increased employment opportunities for women. Such measures are useful on other grounds as well and should be implemented immediately.

Although the trend of population growth in developed countries is now slowing down, it seems proper to use appropriate public policies to ensure that this trend continues.

What deserves special attention is education and information about reproduction and about the implications of slower growth rates for national well-being. These may be the most effective policies by which nations may reduce population growth. At present, personal motivations for having children are poorly understood. Considerable research in this area and in the application of various government policies should be encouraged.

As for the social and economic circumstances that sometimes encourage childbearing, the so-called pronatalist policies, it is harder to agree on what should be done. These include such measures as income tax allowances for children and subsidized education and health services. The primary purpose of such measures is to correct inequities in the distribution of income, wealth, or general economic or social opportunities. For this reason, as a general rule they should not be tampered with. Moreover, there is little evidence to indicate that their demographic effect is very significant one way or another.

Suppose, however, that there were large year-to-year fluctuations in births. This might be an unexpected result of greater individual

Population problems should be the topic of ever-increasing discussion and cooperation among nations.

The developed countries have a double responsibility for the future. They must continue the decline in their own population growth rates, leading to an eventual stabilization of their population. They must also provide much of the resources and expertise that the developing nations will need to face their own population problems.

The world might well reach a turning point in the struggle to limit the population of our Earth and provide a decent life for all of its inhabitants with a heightened respect for the sanctity of each individual.

and administration of public programs in education, health and housing.

If population should plunge because several generations decide to have an average of only 1.5 or even 1.2 children per married couple, governments may not have very effective means to reverse such a trend. For instance, an attempt to raise the birth rate in Romania by banning contraception and abortion only temporarily deflected the decline in general fertility there.

In any case it is not at all certain that governments confronted with a rapid decline in population would want to raise birth rates. However, if a population starts to decline in absolute numbers, alarmists and naive commentators may project such a trend to continue indefinitely. This could give rise to dangerous talk about "national suicide" or the "menace" of other races.

Instead, if a nation's total population should start to fall, the public ought to be made aware that this course may be beneficial to all. It is possible that the average number of children per family in the future will remain within the range of 1.5 and 2.5. Such a range is quite compatible with the development of relatively stable populations.

There was a consensus in favor of the approach to this problem as set out in the 1972 Report of the Presidential Commission on Population Growth and the American Future:

"In the broadest sense, the goals of the population policies we recommend aim at creating social conditions wherein the desired value of individuals, families and communities can be realized; equalizing social and economic opportunities for women and members of disadvantaged minorities; and enhancing the potential for improving the quality of life.

At the educational level we wish to increase public awareness and understanding of the implications of population change and simultaneously further our knowledge of the causes and consequences of population change.

In regard to childbearing and childrearing the goals of our recommendations are to:

(1) maximize information and knowledge about human reproduction and its implications for the family;

CONFERENCE MEMBERSHIP

Conference Chairman

SIR COLVILLE DEVERELL, GBE, KCMG, CVO, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Windward Islands (1955-59) and Mauritius (1959-62); Secretary-General, International Planned Parenthood Federation (1964-69); Chairman, United Nations (Family Planning) Mission to India (1965); Member, U.N. Mission on Need for a World Population Institution (1970); Chairman, U.N. Family Planning Evaluation Mission to Ceylon (1971).

Director of the Ditchley Foundation

SIR MICHAEL STEWART, KCMG, OBE, formerly H.M. Diplomatic Service; Charge d'Affaires, Peking (1959-62); Minister, British Embassy, Washington (1964-67); Ambassador to Greece (1967-71).

Britain

PROFESSOR WILFRED BECKERMAN, Professor of Political Economy, University of London and Head of Department of Political Econ-

(2) improve the quality of the setting in which children are raised;

(3) neutralize insofar as it is practicable and consistent with other values those legal, social and institutional pressures that historically have been mainly pronatalist in character; and

(4) enable individuals to avoid unwanted childbearing, thereby enchancing their ability to realize their preferences.

These particular policies are aimed at facilitating the social, economic and legal conditions within our society which increase ethical responsibility and the opportunity for unbiased choice in human reproduction and childrearing. At the same time, by enhancing the individual's opportunity to make a real choice between having few children and having many, between parenthood and childlessness, and between marriage and the single state, these policies together will undoubtedly slow our rate of population growth, and accelerate the advent of population stabilization.

In connection with the geographic distribution of population, our objectives are to ease and guide the process of population movement, to facilitate planning for the accommodation of movements, and to increase the freedom of choice in residential locations."

VI. THE IMPLICATIONS OF MIGRATION

Migration is an exceedingly complicated problem. Much of it is international and the interests of the countries involved may not be identical.

As the populations of the more developed European countries are tending to stabilize, so are their labor forces. In consequence, these countries generally find themselves short of native labor. Workers are emigrating from the poorer areas of Europe and from developing countries of the rest of the world to fill the shortage.

At present, 3 to 4 million immigrants work in the higher-income countries of Europe. Forecasts indicate that, by 1980, the excess of demand over the supply of native labor in these same countries will be on the order of 8 to 10 million. At that time, the available

Consequently, international migration raises serious problems. Because in the developing countries the work force will be increasing more rapidly than the job opportunities, they will exert greater pressure on the developed countries to permit immigration. At the same time, in the developed countries, shortages of certain types of labor, particularly unskilled labor, will provide jobs for the immigrants. Potential employers of immigrant workers are likely to encourage them, because they will be willing to work for a lower wage than domestic labor.

On the other hand, pressures to reduce immigration into the high-income countries are likely to result from the increasing social problems stemming from the lower wage levels and different cultural backgrounds of the immigrants.

Also to be considered is the fact of a falling native-born population in a developed country while immigration continues to increase. For instance, 20% of United States population growth is currently due to immigration, and this proportion will probably increase in the future.

It would be quite wrong to encourage developing countries to rely on emigration as a way out of their dual problems of too rapid population growth and insufficient jobs. It will be to their detriment to export skilled and experienced people who would otherwise be involved in carrying out economic development at home. By exporting non-skilled workers, the pressures for improving conditions and for increasing efficiency and capitalization at home are removed. Migration usually takes place only as a last resort by the migrant who would far rather work at home. Great social costs and risks are involved in his uprooting.

On the credit side for the developing countries, they derive some benefit from the money earned abroad which migrants send or take home. In some cases, they may also benefit, if to a lesser extent, from technical know-how which migrants acquire abroad and bring back to their countries of origin.

It is clear that migration is a perplexing and increasingly controversial matter and should be placed high on the agenda of items for serious study.

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PROFESSOR KINGSLEY DAVIS, Ford Professor of Sociology and Comparative Studies, and Director, International Population and Urban Research, Institute of International Studies, University of California at Berkeley; Trustee of the Population Reference Bureau Inc.,

VII. NOT TO GROW

Despite certain undesirable environmental and social consequences, economic growth and industrialization help solve more problems than they create. It would be unwise to discourage economic growth in either the developed or the developing countries.

While the case for zero population growth is clear, the case for a zero growth economy is questionable. A growing economy entails a greater use of raw materials and creates more pollution. At the same time, it brings with it more jobs, more innovation, greater mobility, and greater output. These, in part, can be directed to solving the accumulated problems of past population and economic growth.

A zero-growth economy, on the other hand, would augur profound changes. It might undermine an individual's incentive to work; it would lead to grave questions on how to divide a static national income. Further, many pressing social needs would remain unmet.

The remedy is not less growth but a change in its direction, along with better chances for people to follow cultural pursuits, recreation or whatever else their personal tastes dictate. Such a change should focus on enhancing the environment, including the use of materials and resources which are more plentiful and less polluting. Governmental policies affecting the use of air, water and land should be implemented. A private enterprise approach is not enough, especially in relation to resources such as air and water which are common property.

Some of the economic growth in developed countries involves invention and production of what many consider to be relatively unimportant luxuries. A change in the composition of economic growth, away from such products, would be welcomed by many of the young since one of the thrusts of their criticism of the acquisitive society is against such luxuries, and against materialism generally.

Economic growth is also needed to help resolve problems associated with unequal distribution of income and wealth, to finance technological developments such as nuclear fusion, which may ultimately be needed by all countries, and to further finance vitally

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The Ditchley Foundation

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MR. C. F. O. CLARKE, Programme Development Officer (Conference

needed foreign assistance. Without economic growth, it is doubtful that there would be capital available for these purposes.

It is especially unrealistic for the developing countries to consider stopping economic growth. Deprivation in these countries makes it intolerable for them to contemplate foregoing the immense benefits that have already been conferred by economic growth on industrialized nations. And these nations have especially pressing social needs which are unfulfilled. However, if their economies are to grow in the right direction, these countries must all give thought to the framework of growth, including resources utilization, land use and the prevention of pollution, as well as the effect of economic growth on the social structure.

In effect, while economic growth adds to resource and environmental problems, it also adds to the capacity to solve many problems. Population growth, however, offers no such offsetting advantage.

VIII. URBANIZATION AND POPULATION GROWTH

The problems associated with urbanization are here to stay for years to come, regardless of changes in population growth, although slower population growth will make those problems more manageable.

Urbanization has rapidly increased in the industrialized nations. This is not necessarily an undesirable development in itself, but it does create problems. Curiously, while urbanization is increasing, fewer people live in the heart of the city. Movement is definitely toward the outer parts of the city and to the suburbs. It has led many countries to consider a conscious policy of population distribution among urban, suburban, and rural areas.

If central cities were made more liveable, it might be wise to try to increase the density of cities again. This would economize on space, and might well benefit all concerned by leaving more of the surrounding countryside in its natural state.

Taking cities and their suburbs together as metropolitan areas, it is clear that the spread of urbanization and its problems are more

difficult to cure if population grows than if it stabilizes. However, regardless of the trend of total population, urbanization is likely to continue.

Apart from slowing population growth, there are other ways of accommodating the problems of urbanization. Some examples are: the development of radically new transport systems and better telecommunications systems; better utilization of multi-purpose land development and open spaces; the creation of jobs nearer to where people live; and greater public expenditures to ameliorate urban problems. City planning must be imaginative and flexible enough to influence population trends, not simply to follow them.

These conclusions were generally acceptable to the group, but there were considerable differences of attitude as regards their urgency. Several members felt that extra urban growth, particularly in the United States, would present very severe problems and that their alleviation must be a high priority. Many thought that the help which population restraint would give in such alleviation was a powerful argument in favor of slowing population growth. Others did not regard urbanization as strong enough to demand speedy and imperative attention.

IX. ENVIRONMENT AND POPULATION GROWTH

Environmental problems will be more manageable if population growth slows.

There is growing attention being paid in industrialized countries to preserving the purity of air and water, although insufficient resources are now being committed to combat the pollution of these elements. In special cases, such as that of the Rhine River, concerted international action is required.

In addition, there are natural settings, as well as towns and villages, that deserve special care and protection as part of the heritage which living generations should preserve for their successors. In some cases, rising prices of land might help to avoid land desecration, whereas in other cases, voluntary effort and government action must provide the remedy.

Most of us have need to get away from the battle of modern life. Open and unspoilt spaces should be set aside so that those who prize it could enjoy solitude. Not all want it, but the diversity of mankind is such that some protection of "the solitary places" is desirable. Although this protection could be achieved by social and political decisions, it could be done more easily where there are fewer people to encroach on them.

Because of its fundamental importance, its complexity, and its interrelationship with all aspects of the population problem, the question of the human environment was threaded throughout all the discussions.

X. FAMILY PLANNING FOR THE INDIVIDUAL

All families should have the right to plan the number and spacing of their children, regardless of population trends. To insure this right, family planning information and services, including contraception, sterilization and abortion should be made available to all.

The benefits of family planning and the various methods available should be made known to the public by education and broad informational campaigns. Education should be within the family, at school and elsewhere. It should be concerned with education in the techniques of contraception, but even more in matters of sexual and emotional responsibility in the relations between a man and a woman.

Where there is contraceptive failure, almost all the participants agreed that abortion should be an available alternative. Contraception is certainly preferable to abortion as a means of family planning. If the availability of abortion is limited in any way, this serves to underline the practical and moral obligation of providing contraceptive services to all.

The health professions must accept their own responsibility to offer birth control information and services. They should accept the prevention of an unwanted pregnancy or (subject to dissent on grounds of conscience) termination of such a pregnancy just as much an obligation as the cure of diseases.

Research into human reproductive behavior from the standpoint

of basic bodily physiology, of contraception, and of social motivation should be furthered as fast as possible.

The participants recognized that there might be some arguments against imposing on the State a duty to make birth control fully and freely available; first because it costs money; and second, because it may encourage promiscuity. But these arguments were not thought sufficiently weighty to counterbalance those on the other side. These were based on the following propositions:

(1) The ability to determine individual fertility is a vital extension of human rights.
(2) The birth of unplanned and unwanted children and illegitimate children should be avoided.
(3) Control of the number and spacing of children has health advantages for the mother and the child.
(4) There are some, not easily quantifiable, economic advantages which might be set against the cost of providing full birth control services.
(5) The charge that the provision of family planning services leads to promiscuity has never been substantiated. Usually it leads to the assumption of greater responsibility by the individual in sexual relationships.

XI. BEYOND FAMILY PLANNING

There are a number of policies that governments may enact which go beyond family planning, and which would contribute to the welfare of the family and the overall health of society.

Social policy should promote the emancipation of women. This should include better educational and job opportunities, and changes in social attitudes enabling women to be in control of their own destinies. This policy might be said to be antinatalist; because as alternatives to motherhood become available, a further reduction in the birth rate can be expected.

Greater sexual, emotional and parental responsibility should be encouraged. This should include promoting concern on the part of both parents for illegitimate children.

An educational campaign should be mounted to create an awareness of the difficulties that will result from continued population increases. Social and environmental consequences for the particular nation and for the world as a whole can be presented. These factors should also be considered by couples as they plan their families.

Governments should provide family support where it is deemed necessary on welfare grounds. Such support should include income tax allowances for children and subsidized education and health services. The living should not be penalized because they were born. Although ours is an increasingly crowded and complicated world, fundamental human decency demands a concern for all.

Given the fact that population growth rates appear headed in the right direction, how important is it that policies to slow these rates down be devised and implemented quickly? If one considers all the population-related measures that are likely to be useful, such as research, education and the monitoring of population developments and problems as well as equal employment for women and liberalized abortion laws, it may be appropriate to reformulate the question and ask what is to be gained by waiting. The lead time for actions in this field to show results is very long, the demographic effectiveness of many of the measures may not be very great, and they are all useful on other grounds. Why, then, delay?

A policy of immediate action, however, does not mean that strong monetary or other incentives to change current behavior are required at the present time in developed countries, although the situation should be under continual watch and periodically reassessed. Apart from fertility, other dimensions of the population problem such as those associated with immigration and urbanization are serious in some countries today, and considerable efforts to resolve them should be started as quickly as possible.

XII. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TOWARDS THE DEVELOPING WORLD

Developed countries have a responsibility to lend all assistance possible to the developing countries. To avoid any impression, however ill-founded, of neocolonialist motives, the developed nations

must deal with their own population problems, should expand their concern for the broad range of development issues, and within this broad context, should increasingly utilize multilateral channels for population aid.

The discussion so far has primarily reviewed population problems in terms of the domestic policies which developed countries should pursue. It is also important to consider the relationship of developed countries to the rest of the world and the possibilities of international cooperation.

One aspect, international migration, has already been discussed.

A second aspect is the impending worldwide shortage of certain raw materials. This will mean that developed countries will be buying raw materials from the developing countries at higher prices. On the other hand, the developing countries will have to buy more manufactured goods, and probably food, from the developed countries. On which side the resulting relative advantages in the balance of trade will fall are hard to predict. It is, however, possible to forecast that very much higher costs of raw materials could put a brake on economic growth.

Many factors complicate the consideration of international population policies. First, such policies deal with problems which are basically national. Second, the policies must be developed in cooperation with the public and with respect for the rights of the individual. Third, they should be an integral part of national development policy generally; such a link can easily be seen with the national development plans that are due for review and evaluation as part of the United Nations Second Development Decade.

There is a need for better worldwide understanding of the relationship between population and of social and economic development. The international community needs to coordinate national policies and develop common approaches. At the same time the realities of each nation's individual situation must be grasped. For instance, in view of their different population trends, the pronatalist policy of Hungary does not necessarily conflict with the antinatalist policy of Egypt. The awareness of unique national situations as well as of general world objectives is a prerequisite to formulating a global strategy.

When it comes to the next stage, that of putting international programs into practice, difficulties may arise because national interests are perceived differently, especially in developed countries compared to developing countries. This makes it all the more necessary to see

that the facts are assembled as fully and objectively as possible as a prelude to international understanding.

On the whole, the fundamental scope of international action at present must be to spread information in order to provide a sound basis for policy. There have been important changes in the national attitudes of several developed countries, as evidenced by the report of the Presidential Commission on Population Growth and the American Future as well as by studies made in Britain and Holland. If these are to serve as guides for countries launching population policies, international channels can help provide the means of communication.

The contribution which the developed countries can make to international population policy is all the more important in view of the urgency of the population problems in developing countries. But it is a matter of great delicacy. Both the United Nations and the developed countries are handicapped by charges of "colonialism." Some of the developing countries believe that the developed ones are acting on selfish motives, such as finding a cheap way to prevent a worsening of the terms of trade or of avoiding the provision of larger sums in foreign aid. This outlook is self-defeating but nevertheless widespread.

In order to defuse this attitude it is important for the developed countries to proceed with the utmost integrity and diplomacy. First, they must deal with their own population problems. All aspects of family planning must be available to their own citizens. It is to be hoped that most or all developed countries will make the achievement of a stable population a national goal.

The channeling of aid for population programs through multilateral agencies such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Planned Parenthood Federation, makes it much easier for developing nations to accept aid. These channels help to depoliticize the aid and lessen the possibility that it will be interpreted as neocolonialism.

What then, taking everything together, can the developed nations do to help the developing nations without causing offence or negative reactions? A number of actions that the developed countries might take are:

(1) They can support the spread of public knowledge about birth control and the physiology of the human body.

(2) They can support family planning efforts in the developing

countries and also help these countries learn how to run clinics and how to motivate people to use contraceptives.

(3) They can help to improve general public health and medical activities.

(4) They can support demographic training and research.

(5) They can intensify research for better contraceptives.

(6) They can provide greater development assistance, multilaterally as well as bilaterally.

XIII. THE UNITED NATIONS ROLE

The United Nations proclamation of 1974 as World Population Year and call for a World Population Conference in August of 1974 off[er] the potential of greatly expanding worldwide concern about popu[lation] and supporting programs to meet them.

World population conferences have been held in Rome in 1954 and in Belgrade in 1965, but these conferences involved only private individuals and organizations. The 1974 World Population Conference of the United Nations is the first time that all member governments will be discussing this subject formally with each other.

The United Nations Population Commission made a breakthrough in 1971 when it first decided to consider population matters in terms of policy development — not merely in the context of study and research. The intention was to dispel the confusion which had arisen due to political fears, misunderstanding of policy goals, mistrust based on differing ideologies, and dissatisfaction with economic conditions. In 1972 the Economic and Social Council decided that a global strategy and plan of action should be prepared for the World Population Conference in 1974. As a first step, the Secretary-General of the United Nations asked each member state to report on its own national program and establish a supervisory body to implement it and to link it with the proposed global effort.

The agenda for the World Population Conference includes five points: population trends and perspectives; economic and social development as related to population; the relationship between popula-

tion and family well-being; population and environment; and a World Population Plan of Action.

The United Nations felt that an inter-governmental Conference is timely, and should be expected not merely to discuss population but also to decide on priorities, to act and to strengthen the United Nations role in this field.

Efforts will also be made to involve non-governmental organizations, professions, and individuals in support of World Population Year 1974. Although only governments will be represented at the Conference itself, much can be done to further the climate of understanding and cooperation by private organizations who are able to act without governmental constraints.

XIV. A CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM

Although much remains to be done in both developed and developing countries, there are definite signs for hope.

Above all, it is to be hoped that the United Nations World Population Year and World Population Conference will be a turning point for the world in dealing with world population problems. This prospect has been made practical and feasible by several encouraging developments in the last decade.

The United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), created only in 1967, has a budget of $62.7 million dollars for 1973. It has over fifty donor countries and by mid-1972 supported more than 500 projects in 72 developing countries.

The International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), founded by Margaret Sanger and other family planning pioneers in 1952, is a federation of eighty national family planning associations. Headquartered in London, the IPPF has seven regional offices throughout the world and expects a budget for 1973 of $30 million.

Important changes in the attitudes of several countries have also added to the momentum leading to the Conference and Year.

The main message of the Ditchley Conference is that population policies must be considered in as wide a context as possible. Population has definite links with social and economic goals and policies.

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MR. JOHN MADDOX, Editor of "Nature", and Managing Director, Macmillan Journals Ltd.; Associate Director, the Nuffield Foundation, and Coordinator, Nuffield Foundation Science Teaching Project (1964-66).

PROFESSOR C. R. ROSS, Deputy Secretary, Central Policy Review Staff, Cabinet Office; Head of Government panel on Population Problems; represented HM Treasury on OECD Working Party on Policies for Economic Growth (1961-68); Pro Vice-Chancellor, University of East Anglia (1936-69); Deputy Chairman East Anglia Economic Planning Council (1967-69).

PROFESSOR V. C. WYNNE-EDWARDS, FRS, Regius Professor of Natural History, University of Aberdeen; Member of Royal Commission on Environment Pollution; Chairman, National Environmental Research Council (1963-71).

Continental Europe

MR. EIVIND ERICHSEN, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Oslo.

DR. H. J. HEEREN, Reader in Demography, Utrecht State University.

PROFESSOR MASSIMO LIVI-BACCI, Director, Department of Statistics and Mathematics, University of Florence.

M. HENRI LERIDON, Research staff, Institut National des Etudes Demographiques, Paris (INED).

APPENDIX 1

Population Data and Projections
Western Europe and North America

Western Europe	Population Estimates Mid-1972 (millions)	Annual Rate of Population Growth (percent)	Number of Years to Double Population	Population Projections to 1985 (millions)
Austria	7.5	0.2	347	8.0
Belgium	9.8	0.2	347	10.4
Albania	2.3	2.8	25	3.3
Denmark	5.0	0.5	139	5.5
Finland	4.8	0.4	174	5.0
France	51.9	0.7	99	57.6
Germany (Federal Republic of)	59.2	0.2	347	62.3
Berlin, West	2.1	−1.0	—	1.9
Greece	9.0	0.8	87	9.7
Iceland	0.2	1.2	58	0.3
Ireland	3.0	0.7	99	3.5
Italy	54.5	0.7	99	60.0
Luxembourg	0.4	0.1	693	0.4
Malta	0.3	−0.7	—	0.3
Netherlands	13.3	1.0	70	15.3
Norway	4.0	0.7	99	4.5
Portugal	9.7	0.8	87	10.7
Spain	33.9	1.0	70	38.1
Sweden	8.2	0.4	174	8.8
Switzerland	6.4	1.0	70	7.4
United Kingdom	56.6	0.5	139	61.8
Yugoslavia	21.0	0.9	77	23.8
North America				
Canada	22.2	1.7	41	27.3
United States	209.2	1.0	70	246.3

Source: "1972 World Population Data Sheet", published by the Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX 2

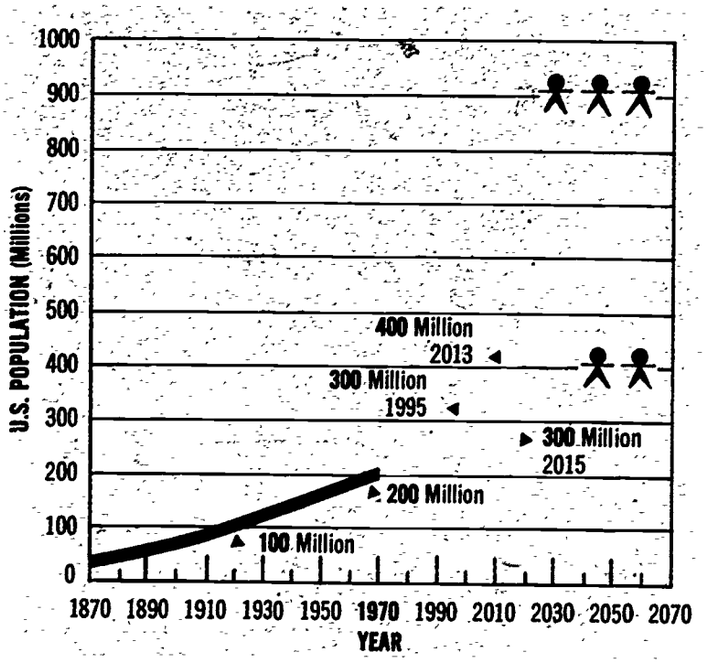
Population Projections By Regions of the World

(in millions)	1972	Projection for 2000
Asia	2154	3777
Europe	469	568
USSR	248	330
Africa	364	818
US and Canada	231	333
Latin America	300	652
Oceania	20	35
World	**3786**	**6513**
Developed (Europe, USSR, U.S., Canada & Japan)	1054	1376
Developing (Asia excluding Japan, Africa, Latin America & Oceania)	2732	5137
World	**3786**	**6513**

Source: "1972 World Population Data Sheet", published by the Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX 3

United States Population Projections
2 vs. 3-Child Family



The difference in consequences between a 2-child and a 3-child average family for the future population of the United States is clear from this graph.

Latest figures indicate that the average number of children has reached an unprecedented low of 1.98 children for the second half of 1972.

Sources: "Population and the American Future", Report of the Presidential Commission on Population and the American Future, March 1972; and an estimated figure derived from data presented in "Vital Statistics Report", Vol. 21, No. 12, National Center for Health Statistics, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, March 1973.

THE POPULATION CRISIS COMMITTEE

The Population Crisis Committee acts as a catalyst for needed national and international action. With a growing roster of members, the Committee works with concerned citizens in all walks of life and with leaders in business, the professions, science, religion, and governments. Its aim is to reach an ever-widening audience through meetings, discussions, and the publication and distribution of educational and informational materials on population issues.

Since its establishment in 1965, the Committee has sought to increase public understanding and has encouraged the expansion of private, national, and international programs to deal with population problems.

Members of the Population Crisis Committee, through the Victor-Bostrom Fund, have marshalled private support amounting to nearly $12 million for the worldwide family planning programs of the International Planned Parenthood Federation. Working with the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, Committee members have helped the United Nations effort in the field of population grow in the last three years to more than $60 million in its Fund for Population Activities in 1973.

Currently it is devoting most of its energies to promote activities in support of the International Planned Parenthood Federation and its 21st Anniversary Conference in Brighton, England, October 22-27, 1973, the United Nations World Population Year 1974, and the World Population Conference in August 1974.

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